

Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics

EDITED BY
JAMES HASTINGS

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF
JOHN A. SELBIE, M.A., D.D.
PROFESSOR OF OLD TESTAMENT LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN THE
UNITED FREE CHURCH COLLEGE, ABERDEEN
AND
LOUIS H. GRAY, M.A., Ph.D.
SOMETIME FELLOW IN INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

VOLUME VI
FICTION—HYKSOS

EDINBURGH: T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET
NEW YORK: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, 153-157 FIFTH AVENUE

1913



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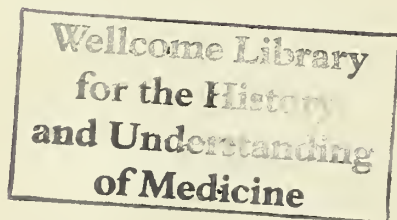
Printed by MORRISON & GIBB LIMITED

FOR

T. & T. CLARK, EDINBURGH

LONDON: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT, AND CO. LIMITED

NEW YORK: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS



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LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS

I. GENERAL

A.R. = Anno Hijrac (A.D. 622).
 Ak. = Akkadian.
 Alex. = Alexandrian.
 Amer. = American.
 Apoc. = Apocalypse, Apocalyptic.
 Apocr. = Apocrypha.
 Aq. = Aquila.
 Arab. = Arabic.
 Aram. = Aramaic.
 Arm. = Armenian.
 Ary. = Aryan.
 As. = Asiatic.
 Assyr. = Assyrian.
 AT = Altes Testament.
 AV = Authorized Version.
 AVm = Authorized Version margin.
 A.Y. = Anno Yazdagird (A.D. 639).
 Bab. = Babylonian.
 c. = *circa*, about.
 Can. = Canaanite.
 cf. = compare.
 ct. = contrast.
 D = Deuteronomist.
 E = Elohist.
 edd. = editions or editors.
 Egypt. = Egyptian.
 Eng. = English.
 Eth. = Ethiopic.
 EV, EVV = English Version, Versions.
 f. = and following verse or page.
 ff. = and following verses or pages.
 Fr. = French.
 Germ. = German.
 Gr. = Greek.
 H = Law of Holiness.
 Heb. = Hebrew.
 Hel. = Hellenistic.
 Hex. = Hexateuch.
 Himy. = Himyaritic.
 Ir. = Irish.
 Iran. = Iranian.

Isr. = Israelite.
 J = Jahwist.
 J' = Jehovah.
 Jerus. = Jerusalem.
 Jos. = Josephus.
 LXX = Septuagint.
 Min. = Minean.
 MSS = Manuscripts.
 MT = Massoretic Text.
 n. = note.
 NT = New Testament.
 Onk. = Onkelos.
 OT = Old Testament.
 P = Priestly Narrative.
 Pal. = Palestine, Palestinian.
 Pent. = Pentateuch.
 Pers. = Persian.
 Phil. = Philistine.
 Phoen. = Phœnician.
 Pr. Bk. = Prayer Book.
 R = Redactor.
 Rom. = Roman.
 RV = Revised Version.
 RVm = Revised Version margin.
 Sab. = Sabæan.
 Sam. = Samaritan.
 Sem. = Semitic.
 Sept. = Septuagint.
 Sin. = Sinaitic.
 Skr. = Sanskrit.
 Symm. = Symmachus.
 Syr. = Syriac.
 t. (following a number) = times.
 Talm. = Talmud.
 Targ. = Targum.
 Theod. = Theodotion.
 TR = Textus Receptus, Received Text.
 tr. = translated or translation.
 VSS = Versions.
 Vulg., Vg. = Vulgate.
 WH = Westcott and Hort's text.

II. BOOKS OF THE BIBLE

Old Testament.

Gn = Genesis.	Ca = Canticles.
Ex = Exodus.	Is = Isaiah.
Lv = Leviticus.	Jer = Jeremiah.
Nu = Numbers.	La = Lamentations.
Dt = Deuteronomy.	Ezk = Ezekiel.
Jos = Joshua.	Dn = Daniel.
Jg = Judges.	Hos = Hosea.
Ru = Ruth.	Jl = Joel.
1 S, 2 S = 1 and 2 Samnel.	Am = Amos.
1 K, 2 K = 1 and 2 Kings.	Ob = Obadiah.
1 Ch, 2 Ch = 1 and 2 Chronicles.	Jon = Jonah.
Ezr = Ezra.	Mic = Micah.
Neh = Nehemiah.	Nah = Nahum.
Est = Esther.	Hab = Habakkuk.
Job.	Zeph = Zephaniah.
Ps = Psalms.	Hag = Haggai.
Pr = Proverbs.	Zec = Zechariah.
Ec = Ecclesiastes.	Mal = Malachi.

Apocrypha.

1 Es, 2 Es = 1 and 2 Esdras.	To = Tobit.
	Jth = Judith.

Ad. Est = Additions to Esther.	Sus = Susanna.
Wis = Wisdom.	Bel = Bel and the Dragon.
Sir = Sirach or Ecclesiasticus.	Pr. Man = Prayer of Manasses.
Bar = Baruch.	1 Mac, 2 Mac = 1 and 2 Maccabees.
Three = Song of the Three Children.	

New Testament.

Mt = Matthew.	1 Th, 2 Th = 1 and 2 Thessalonians.
Mk = Mark.	1 Ti, 2 Ti = 1 and 2 Timothy.
Lk = Luke.	Tit = Titus.
Jn = John.	Philem = Philemon.
Ac = Acts.	He = Hebrews.
Ro = Romans.	Ja = James.
1 Co, 2 Co = 1 and 2 Corinthians.	1 P, 2 P = 1 and 2 Peter.
Gal = Galatians.	1 Jn, 2 Jn, 3 Jn = 1, 2, and 3 John.
Eph = Ephesians.	Jude.
Ph = Philippians.	Rev = Revelation.
Col = Colossians.	

III. FOR THE LITERATURE

1. The following authors' names, when unaccompanied by the title of a book, stand for the works in the list below.

- Baethgen = *Beiträge zur sem. Religionsgesch.*, 1888.
 Baldwin = *Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology*, 3 vols. 1901-05.
 Barth = *Nominalbildung in den sem. Sprachen*, 2 vols. 1889, 1891 (²1894).
 Benzinger = *Heb. Archäologie*, 1894.
 Brockelmann = *Gesch. d. arab. Litteratur*, 2 vols. 1897-1902.
 Bruns-Sachau = *Syr.-Röm. Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert*, 1880.
 Budge = *Gods of the Egyptians*, 2 vols. 1903.
 Daremberg-Saglio = *Dict. des ant. grec. et rom.*, 1886-90.
 De la Saussaye = *Lehrbuch der Religionsgesch.*³, 1905.
 Denzinger = *Enchiridion Symbolorum*¹¹, Freiburg im Br., 1911.
 Deussen = *Die Philos. d. Upanishads*, 1899 [Eng. tr., 1906].
 Doughty = *Arabia Deserta*, 2 vols. 1888.
 Grimm = *Deutsche Mythologie*⁴, 3 vols. 1875-78, Eng. tr. *Teutonic Mythology*, 4 vols. 1882-88.
 Hamburger = *Realencyclopädie für Bibel u. Talmud*, i. 1870 (²1892), ii. 1883, suppl. 1886, 1891 f., 1897.
 Holder = *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, 1891 ff.
 Holtzmann-Zöpfel = *Lexicon f. Theol. u. Kirchenwesen*², 1895.
 Howitt = *Native Tribes of S.E. Australia*, 1904.
 Jubainville = *Cours de Litt. celtique*, i.-xii., 1883 ff.
 Lagrange = *Études sur les religions sémitiques*², 1904.
 Lane = *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 1863 ff.
 Lang = *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*², 2 vols. 1899.
 Lepsius = *Denkmäler aus Aegypten u. Aethiopien*, 1849-60.
 Lichtenberger = *Encyc. des sciences religieuses*, 1876.
 Lidzbarski = *Handbuch der nordsem. Epigraphik*, 1898.
 McCurdy = *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, 2 vols. 1894-96.
 Muir = *Orig. Sanscrit Texts*, 1858-72.
 Müss-Arnolt = *A Concise Dict. of the Assyrian Language*, 1894 ff.
 Nowack = *Lehrbuch d. heb. Archäologie*, 2 vols. 1894.
 Pauly-Wissowa = *Realencyc. der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 1894 ff.
 Perrot-Chipiez = *Hist. de l'art dans l'antiquité*, 1881 ff.
 Preller = *Römische Mythologie*, 1858.
 Réville = *Religion des peuples non-civilisés*, 1883.
 Riehm = *Handwörterbuch d. bibl. Altertums*², 1893-94.
 Robinson = *Biblical Researches in Palestine*², 1856.
 Roscher = *Lex. d. gr. u. röm. Mythologie*, 1884 ff.
 Schaff-Herzog = *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 1908 ff.
 Schenkel = *Bibel-Lexicon*, 5 vols. 1869-75.
 Schürer = *GJV*³, 3 vols. 1898-1901 [*HJP*, 5 vols. 1890 ff.].
 Schwally = *Leben nach dem Tode*, 1892.
 Siegfried-Stade = *Heb. Wörterbuch zum AT*, 1893.
 Smend = *Lehrbuch der alttest. Religionsgesch.*², 1899.
 Smith (G. A.) = *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*⁴, 1897.
 Smith (W. R.) = *Religion of the Semites*², 1894.
 Spencer (H.) = *Principles of Sociology*³, 1885-96.
 Spencer-Gillen^a = *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 1899.
 Spencer-Gillen^b = *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 1904.
 Swete = *The OT in Greek*, 3 vols. 1893 ff.
 Tylor (E. B.) = *Primitive Culture*³, 1891 [⁴1903].
 Ueberweg = *Hist. of Philosophy*, Eng. tr., 2 vols. 1872-74.
 Weber = *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud u. verwandten Schriften*², 1897.
 Wiedemann = *Die Religion der alten Aegypter*, 1890 [Eng. tr., revised, *Religion of the Anc. Egyptians*, 1897].
 Wilkinson = *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 3 vols. 1878.
 Zunz = *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*², 1892.

2. Periodicals, Dictionaries, Encyclopædias, and other standard works frequently cited.

- AA = Archiv für Anthropologie.
 AAOJ = American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal.
 ABAW = Abhandlungen d. Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
 AE = Archiv für Ethnographie.
 AEG = Assyr. and Eng. Glossary (Johns Hopkins University).
 AGG = Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
 AGPh = Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie.
 AHR = American Historical Review.
 AHT = Ancient Hebrew Tradition (Hommel).
 AJPh = American Journal of Philology.
 AJP = American Journal of Psychology.
 AJRPE = American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education.
 AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.
 AJTh = American Journal of Theology.
 AMG = Annales du Musée Guimet.
 APES = American Palestine Exploration Society.
 APF = Archiv für Papyrusforschung.
 AR = Anthropological Review.
 ARW = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
 AS = Acta Sanctorum (Bollandus).
 ASG = Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
 ASoc = L'Année Sociologique.
 ASWI = Archaeological Survey of W. India.
 AZ = Allgemeine Zeitung.
 BAG = Beiträge zur alten Geschichte.
 BASS = Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. sem. Sprachwissenschaft (edd. Delitzsch and Haupt).
 BCH = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
 BE = Bureau of Ethnology.
 BG = Bombay Gazetteer.
 BJ = Bellum Judaicum (Josephus).
 BL = Bampton Lectures.
 BLE = Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique.
 BOR = Bab. and Oriental Record.
 BS = Bibliotheca Sacra.
 BSA = Annual of the British School at Athens.
 BSAA = Bulletin de la Soc. archéologique à Alexandrie.
 BSAL = Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthropologie de Lyon.
 BSAP = Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthropologie, etc., Paris.
 BSG = Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie.
 BTS = Buddhist Text Society.
 BW = Biblical World.
 BZ = Biblische Zeitschrift.

- CAIBL*=Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
CBTS=Calcutta Buddhist Text Society.
CE=Catholic Encyclopedia.
CF=Childhood of Fiction (MacCulloch).
CGS=Cults of the Greek States (Farnell).
CI=Census of India.
CIA=Corpus Inscript. Atticarum.
CIE=Corpus Inscript. Etruscarum.
CIG=Corpus Inscript. Graecarum.
CIL=Corpus Inscript. Latinarum.
CIS=Corpus Inscript. Semiticarum.
COT=Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT [Eng. tr. of *KAT*²; see below].
CR=Contemporary Review.
CeR=Celtic Review.
CLR=Classical Review.
CQR=Church Quarterly Review.
CSEL=Corpus Script. Eccl. Latinorum.
DAC=Dict. of the Apostolic Church.
DACL=Dict. d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie (Cabrol).
DB=Dict. of the Bible.
DCA=Dict. of Christian Antiquities (Smith-Cheetham).
DCB=Dict. of Christian Biography (Smith-Wace).
DCG=Dict. of Christ and the Gospels.
DI=Dict. of Islam (Hughes).
DNB=Dict. of National Biography.
DPhP=Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology.
DWA W=Denkschriften der Wiener Akad. der Wissenschaften.
EBi=Encyclopædia Biblica.
EBR=Encyclopædia Britannica.
EEFM=Egyp. Explor. Fund Memoirs.
EI=Encyclopædia of Islâm.
ERE=The present work.
Exp=Expositor.
ExpT=Expository Times.
FHG=Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum (coll. C. Müller, Paris, 1835).
FL=Folklore.
FLJ=Folklore Journal.
FLR=Folklore Record.
GA=Gazette Archéologique.
GB=Golden Bough (Frazer).
GGA=Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GGN=Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten (Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen).
GIAP=Grundriss d. Indo-Arischen Philologie.
GrP=Grundriss d. Iranischen Philologie.
GJV=Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes.
GVI=Geschichte des Volkes Israel.
HAI=Handbook of American Indians.
HDB=Hastings' Dict. of the Bible.
HE=Historia Ecclesiastica.
HGHL=Historical Geography of the Holy Land (G. A. Smith).
HI=History of Israel.
HJ=Hibbert Journal.
HJP=History of the Jewish People.
HL=Hibbert Lectures.
HN=Historia Naturalis (Pliny).
HWB=Handwörterbuch.
IA=Indian Antiquary.
ICC=International Critical Commentary.
ICO=International Congress of Orientalists.
ICR=Indian Census Report.
IG=Inscript. Græcæ (publ. under auspices of Berlin Academy, 1873 ff.).
IGA=Inscript. Græcæ Antiquissimæ.
IGI=Imperial Gazetteer of India² (1885); new edition (1908-09).
IJE=International Journal of Ethics.
ITL=International Theological Library.
JA=Journal Asiatique.
JAFI=Journal of American Folklore.
JAI=Journal of the Anthropological Institute.
JAOS=Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB=Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.
JASBe=Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal.
JBL=Journal of Biblical Literature.
JBTS=Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.
JD=Journal des Débats.
JDTh=Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theologie.
JE=Jewish Encyclopedia.
JGOS=Journal of the German Oriental Society.
JHC=Johns Hopkins University Circulars.
JHS=Journal of Hellenic Studies.
JLZ=Jenäer Literaturzeitung.
JPh=Journal of Philology.
JPTTh=Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie.
JPTS=Journal of the Pali Text Society.
JQR=Jewish Quarterly Review.
JRAI=Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
JRAS=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRASBo=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay branch.
JRASC=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon branch.
JRASK=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korean branch.
JRGS=Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.
JRS=Journal of Roman Studies.
JThSt=Journal of Theological Studies.
*KAT*²=Die Keilinschriften und das AT² (Schrader), 1833.
*KAT*³=Zimmern-Winckler's ed. of the preceding (really a totally distinct work), 1903.
KB or *K/B*=Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek (Schrader), 1889 ff.
KGF=Keilinschriften und die Geschichtsforschung, 1878.
LCEI=Literarisches Centralblatt.
LOPh=Literaturblatt für Oriental. Philologie.
LOT=Introduction to Literature of OT (Driver).
LP=Legend of Perseus (Hartland).
LSSt=Leipziger sem. Studien.
M=Mélusine.
MAIBL=Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
MBAW=Monatsbericht d. Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
MGH=Monumenta Germaniæ Historica (Pertz).
MGJV=Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft für jüdische Volkskunde.
MGWJ=Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.
MI=Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas (Westermarck).
MNDPV=Mittheilungen u. Nachrichten des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
MR=Methodist Review.
MVG=Mittheilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
MWJ=Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums.
NBAC=Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana.
NC=Nineteenth Century.
NHWB=Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch.
NINQ=North Indian Notes and Queries.
NKZ=Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift.
NQ=Notes and Queries.
NR=Native Races of the Pacific States (Bancroft).
NTZG=Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte.
OED=Oxford English Dictionary.
OLZ=Orientalische Literaturzeitung.
OS=Onomastica Sacra.
OTJC=Old Testament in the Jewish Church (W. R. Smith).
OTP=Oriental Translation Fund Publications.
PAOS=Proceedings of American Oriental Society.

<i>PASB</i> = Proceedings of the Anthropological Soc. of Bombay.	<i>SBAW</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Akademie d. Wissenschaften.
<i>PB</i> = Polychrome Bible (English).	<i>SBB</i> = Sacred Books of the Buddhists.
<i>PBE</i> = Publications of the Bureau of Ethnology.	<i>SBE</i> = Sacred Books of the East.
<i>PC</i> = Primitive Culture (Tylor).	<i>SBOT</i> = Sacred Books of the OT (Hebrew).
<i>PEFM</i> = Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Memoirs.	<i>SDB</i> = Single-vol. Dict. of the Bible (Hastings).
<i>PEFSt</i> = Palestine Exploration Fund Statement.	<i>SK</i> = Studien und Kritiken.
<i>PG</i> = Patrologia Græca (Migne).	<i>SMA</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Münchener Akademie.
<i>PJB</i> = Preussische Jahrbücher.	<i>SSGW</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Kgl. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften.
<i>PL</i> = Patrologia Latina (Migne).	<i>SWAW</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akademie d. Wissenschaften.
<i>PNQ</i> = Punjab Notes and Queries.	<i>TAPA</i> = Transactions of American Philological Association.
<i>PR</i> = Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India (Crooke).	<i>TASJ</i> = Transactions of the Asiatic Soc. of Japan.
<i>PRE</i> ³ = Prot. Realencyclopädie (Herzog-Hauck).	<i>TC</i> = Tribes and Castes.
<i>PRR</i> = Presbyterian and Reformed Review.	<i>TES</i> = Transactions of Ethnological Society.
<i>PRS</i> = Proceedings of the Royal Society.	<i>ThLZ</i> = Theologische Literaturzeitung.
<i>PRSE</i> = Proceedings Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.	<i>ThT</i> = Theol. Tijdschrift.
<i>PSBA</i> = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.	<i>TRHS</i> = Transactions of Royal Historical Society.
<i>PTS</i> = Pali Text Society.	<i>TRSE</i> = Transactions of Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.
<i>RA</i> = Revue Archéologique.	<i>TS</i> = Texts and Studies.
<i>RAnth</i> = Revue d'Anthropologie.	<i>TSBA</i> = Transactions of the Soc. of Biblical Archaeology.
<i>RAS</i> = Royal Asiatic Society.	<i>TU</i> = Texte und Untersuchungen.
<i>RAssyr</i> = Revue d'Assyriologie.	<i>WAI</i> = Western Asiatic Inscriptions.
<i>RB</i> = Revue Biblique.	<i>WZKM</i> = Wiener Zeitschrift f. Kunde des Morgenlandes.
<i>RBEW</i> = Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington).	<i>ZA</i> = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
<i>RC</i> = Revue Critique.	<i>ZA</i> = Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache u. Altertumswissenschaft.
<i>RCel</i> = Revue Celtique.	<i>ZATW</i> = Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft.
<i>RCh</i> = Revue Chrétienne.	<i>ZCK</i> = Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst.
<i>RDM</i> = Revue des Deux Mondes.	<i>ZCP</i> = Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie.
<i>RE</i> = Realencyclopädie.	<i>ZDA</i> = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.
<i>REG</i> = Revue des Études Grecques.	<i>ZDMG</i> = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
<i>REG</i> = Revue Égyptologique.	<i>ZDPV</i> = Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
<i>REJ</i> = Revue des Études Juives.	<i>ZE</i> = Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
<i>REth</i> = Revue d'Ethnographie.	<i>ZKF</i> = Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung.
<i>RGG</i> = Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.	<i>ZKG</i> = Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.
<i>RHLR</i> = Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses.	<i>ZKT</i> = Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie.
<i>RHR</i> = Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.	<i>ZKWL</i> = Zeitschrift für kirchl. Wissenschaft und kirchl. Leben.
<i>RM</i> = Revue du monde musulman.	<i>ZM</i> = Zeitschrift für die Mythologie.
<i>RN</i> = Revue Numismatique.	<i>ZNTW</i> = Zeitschrift für die neuest. Wissenschaft.
<i>RP</i> = Records of the Past.	<i>ZPhP</i> = Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Pädagogik.
<i>RPh</i> = Revue Philosophique.	<i>ZTK</i> = Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.
<i>RQ</i> = Römische Quartalschrift.	<i>ZVK</i> = Zeitschrift für Volkskunde.
<i>RS</i> = Revue sémitique d'Épigraphie et d'Hist. ancienne.	<i>ZVRW</i> = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft.
<i>RSA</i> = Recueil de la Soc. archéologique.	<i>ZWT</i> = Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.
<i>RSI</i> = Reports of the Smithsonian Institution.	
<i>RTAP</i> = Recueil de Travaux relatifs à l'Archéologie et à la Philologie.	
<i>RTP</i> = Revue des traditions populaires.	
<i>RThPh</i> = Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie.	
<i>RTr</i> = Recueil de Travaux.	
<i>RVV</i> = Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten.	
<i>RWB</i> = Realwörterbnch.	

[A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as *KAT*², *LOT*⁶, etc.]

cussed here (see HOPE [Greek and Roman]). (For the Pandora myth, see J. E. Harrison, *JHS* xx. [1900] 99 ff.)

The cardinal virtues in Hesiod are Industry and Justice.

'Work is no reproach, idleness is a reproach' (*Works*, 311). 'Work, Perses, that hunger may abhor thee, and that Demeter may love thee and fill thy barn with livelihood' (299 ff.). 'The gods are angry with the man who lives in idleness, like the drones which devour the labour of the bees' (303 ff.; cf. 303 ff.). 'Whatever your fortune he, to work is best' (314).

The praise of Justice runs through the whole of the *Works and Days*, e.g.:

'The other way is better, the way of Justice. Justice in the end is better than violence, and the fool learns it by suffering.' Horkos attends to punish crooked judgments (216 ff.). 'The Immortals are high among men and remark them that with crooked judgment oppress one another, taking no heed of the anger of the gods. Yea, thrice ten thousand Immortals are there on the bounteous earth who keep watch over mortal men; who watch over judgments and inroad works; clad in mist, faring everywhere over the earth. Also, there is the maiden Justice, the daughter of Zeus, glorious and worshipful among the gods who hold Olympus. And whenever one injureth her with crooked reviling, straightway she sitteth by Zeus the Father, the son of Kronos, and telleth of the unrighteous mind of men, till the people pay for the folly of their rulers, who with ill thoughts wrest aside judgment, declaring falsely' (240 ff.).

Injustice is punished in this world by all manner of evil—barren wife, poverty, disaster by land and by sea (242 ff.). On the other hand, these who do justice prosper:

'Peace is in their land, the nurse of children, and Zeus doth never decree war for them. Neither doth famine nor doom consort with men who deal straight judgments, but they do their work in gladness. For them earth heareth much livelihood, and on the hills the oak's top beareth for them acorns, the oak's midst bees; their fleecy sheep are heavy with wool; their wives bear children like unto their parents; they flourish with good things continually, neither go they on ships, but bounteous earth heareth fruit for them' (228 ff.).

Hesiod is confident that justice is better in the end:

'Now may neither I nor son of mine be just among men. For it is an ill thing to be just, if the unjust shall have the greater justice. Howbeit, this I deem not that Zeus, the Hurler of the Thunder, will bring to pass' (270 ff.).

Justice, indeed, is the great distinguishing mark between man and the lower animals:

'This law hath the Son of Kronos appointed, that fishes and wild beasts and the fowls of the air should devour one another, since there is no justice among them. But to men he hath given justice, which is far the best' (276 ff.).

The sins of the fathers are visited on the children, but the children of the just are better in the after days (284 ff.; cf. *Æsch.* *Ag.* 758 ff.).

Specific prohibitions enjoined by Hesiod are: Thou shalt not commit adultery (328). Thou shalt not wrong the suppliant or the stranger (327). Thou shalt not wrong the orphan (330). Thou shalt not revile thy aged parent (331); Zeus is wroth with one who does so, and for his unrighteousness lays upon him in the end a heavy recompense. Thou shalt not steal (335). Thou shalt not bear false witness (709).

Among specifically religious precepts the duty of worshipping the gods is insisted on:¹

'According to thy power do sacrifice to the deathless gods in holy wise and purely, and burn splendid thigh pieces; at other times propitiate them with libations and incense, both when thou goest to bed and when the sacred light comes, that they may have a propitious heart and mind toward thee; that thou mayest buy another's estate, not another thing' (336 ff.).

In particular, ceremonial purity is emphasized: libations are not to be made to the gods with unwashed hands (724 ff.; cf. *Hom.* *Il.* vi. 266 ff.). Certain necessary functions are to be performed discreetly even by night; 'for the nights too be-

long to the blessed gods' (727 ff.). The nails of the hand should not be cut at a festival of the gods (742 ff.). Sexual uncleanness is recognized (733 ff.).

There is not space here to speak of the various precepts of traditional lore of a practical kind to be found in Hesiod; of the things which it is unlucky to do; of the days which are lucky or unlucky, either altogether or partly and for specific works (765-828).

The most striking thing about the Hesiodic teaching is that here, as in the Hebrew 'Wisdom,' there is no question of a life after death. It is in this life that the just man finds his reward. It is in this life that the unjust meets his punishment. Good and bad alike, without distinction, go down to Hades—as far beneath the earth as the heaven is above the earth—and there is no distinction of fortune for the dead.

Death 'hath a heart of iron, and brazen and pitiless is the soul within his breast. Whomsoever among men he once hath seized, he keepeth; and he is hated even of the deathless gods. There in front stand the echoing halls of the god of the under world, of strong Hades and dread Persephone. And a dread dog keepeth watch before them; pitiless is he and hath an evil guile. On them who enter he fawneth with his tail and with both his ears; but to come forth again he alloweth none, but keepeth watch and devoureth whomsoever he catcheth coming forth from the gates of strong Hades and dread Persephone' (*Theog.* 764 ff.; cf. CEBERUS).

There is a hint of the doctrine of atonement in *Theog.* 783 ff., where we are told that, if any of the gods swears falsely,

'he lieth breathless till a year he fulfilled. And he never draweth nigh to eat of ambrosia and nectar, but breathless and speechless he lieth on a strewn bed, and an evil stupor covereth him. But when he hath fulfilled his disease for a great year, another and another more grievous ordeal awaiteth him, and for nine years he is separated from the everlasting gods, and never cometh to their counsels or their feasts for some whole years; but in the tenth year he entereth again the assemblies of the Immortals who hold the halls of Olympus.'

But such atonement is made by the gods. There is no hint of any such thing for mortal men.

LITERATURE.—*Hesiod*, ed. D. J. van Lennep, Amsterdam, 1847 ff.; J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, Cambridge, 1912; J. Adani, *The Religious Teachers of Greece*, Edinburgh, 1908; A. W. Mair, *Hesiod* (Translation and Appendices), Oxford, 1905; E. K. Rand, *Amer. Journ. of Philol.* xxxii. [1911], 131-165; A. Rzach, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, viii. [1913] 1167-1240.

A. W. MAIR.

HIERODOULOI (Græco-Roman).—In classical antiquity this term designated certain temple ministrants who were below the rank of priests, and usually, if not invariably, of servile status; but how far it was, or ought to be, applied to all temple slaves, and even to certain free persons who gave voluntary service, is very doubtful. E. Curtius (*Ance. Delph.*, Berlin, 1843, p. 16 ff.) led the way in giving it a very wide application, inclusive even of slaves manumitted by dedication or sale to a god, and he has been generally followed (cf., e.g., Daremberg-Saglio, s.v.). But the rarity of the occurrence of the term itself in Greek authors and inscriptions; the distinction sometimes implied in our authorities between *hierodouloi* and certain other ministrants, e.g. temple-sweepers (*νεωκόποι*); and the peculiar nature of the cults in connexion with which the term does actually occur—these considerations suggest that *hierodouloi* were an extraordinary class, not found in all temples or cults, and not to be confounded with the mass of sacred slaves.

The term itself has not been found in any author or inscription of earlier date than the Augustan period. Strabo uses it of ministrants in the temples of Ma at the two Comanas (535, 559), of Zeus at Venasa in Morimene (537), and of Men Pharnaces at Cabeira-Sebaste. These shrines are all Cappadocian. He uses it also in connexion with two temples of Aphrodite—one at Eryx in Sicily (272), and the other at Corinth (378). It is not used by Lucian in connexion with the cult of the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis; and its only other occur-

¹ J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, 95 ff., writes of Hesiod that 'when it came to real definition of his duties, these duties are, not to glorify Athena or to offer burnt sacrifice to Zeus, they are not prayer or praise or sacrifice in any form, but simply the observance of sanctities, attentions, positive and negative.' For this there seems no ground. Miss Harrison's treatment of Hesiod's birds is equally ill-founded. She assumes that for Hesiod the bird is a prophet of the weather, and on her theory the bird is a 'maker of the weather.' Hesiod nowhere speaks of the bird as a prophet. He simply says that when a particular bird arrives—crane, cuckoo, swallow—certain things are to be done.

rences in literature seem to be where Philo employs it of Jewish ministrants (ii. p. 420)—probably a loose use of translation—and where Plutarch (*Amator.* 21) speaks rhetorically of the power of love over great men, who καθάπερ ιερόδουλοι διατελοῦσι.

As for inscriptions, we have a cippus from an unknown Cyclad isle, recording the death of a *hierodoulos*, a dedication to Hermes by one Asclepiades *ιερόδουλος* at Pselehis in Nubia, and another at Rome (in the time of Marcus Aurelius) to Zeus Helios by one who describes himself as *ιερόδουλος πάσης ιεροδουλείας*. At Ostia a *νεωκόρος* of Serapis dedicates to the *ιεροδουλεία*; and at Smyrna, in a text concerning the erection of public buildings, we hear of a *Stoa πρὸς τὴν οἰκῆσιν τῶν ιεροδοῦλων καὶ τὸν θεὸν θεραποντῶν* (CIG 2327, 5082; *CIG, Ital. and Sic.* 1024, 914; *CIG* 6000; Dittenberger, *Syll.*², Leipzig, 1898, p. 583).

At each of the two Comanas, according to Strabo, there were about 6000 *hierodouloi*; at the southern they formed the major part of the population; at the northern they were at the disposition of the high priest for every kind of service, but might not be sold. In both cases they were of both sexes. At Venasa there were 3000, and they formed a *κατοικία*. At Cabeira they were numerous, and tilled the sacred soil. At Eryx and Corinth only females are mentioned; and these were prostitutes, dedicated, we are told, by both men and women, to the service of the goddess. At the first shrine they had been numerous, but in Strabo's time the practice of dedicating them had largely declined; at the second there were above 1000, famous among seafaring men for their beauty and greed. It was to these women, doubtless, that Pindar devoted the *scholion* of which we have a beautiful fragment (87); but he did not call them *ιερόδουλοι*.

At Eryx and Corinth, then, we see that the *ιερόδουλοι* were nothing but female prostitutes, who gave all, or a share of, their gains to the temple. At Comana Pont., Strabo (p. 559) evidently means us to understand that a part of the *ιερόδουλοι* were included in the *πλήθος γυναικῶν ἐργαζομένων ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος*, who made the place a 'little Corinth.' But at Comana Capp., Venasa, and Cabeira we are not explicitly informed that the *ιερόδουλοι* did anything but cultivate the temple lands. At the first shrine they were distinguished from a class of bearers of sacred images or emblems, *θεοφόρητοι*, who took part in the *θεοφορία*, mentioned also at Comana Pont., and are credibly supposed by Ramsay (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. [Oxford, 1895-97] 136) to have been voluntary servants of free condition. There is, therefore, no doubt that the term *hierodouloi*, in all the instances so far discussed, means serfs, whose bodies were absolutely at the god's service and the priests' discretion, to be used either for purposes of labour or prostitution. They were inalienable, but probably could not acquire freedom; on the whole, they represent a class of slave whose condition was worse than was customary or generally approved in Hellas, whatever its sacrosanct character. Was the term, however, more generally used in popular or official parlance? Philo (*l.c.*) couples *νεωκόροι καὶ ιερόδουλοι*, but it would not be safe to say that he intends any precise distinction. Nor can we say whether the *νεωκόρος* of the Ostian inscription was included in the *ιεροδουλεία* to which he dedicates. The Smyrna inscription, however, seems clearly to distinguish *ιερόδουλοι* from mere *θεράποντες*; and the *ιερόδουλος* of the Roman text equally clearly seems to be proud of his condition and to magnify his office—*ιερόδουλος πάσης ιεροδουλείας*. If other temple ministrants are to be included popularly under the term, it should only be temple slaves, such as, *e.g.*, the *οἰκῆται* of Zeus at Olympia (Strabo, p. 532), the *δοῦλοι*

of Asclepius Archagetas on Parnassus (Pausan. p. 879), and such captives as the Phœnissæ of Euripides, or the *νεωκόροι* and *ζάκοροι* mentioned by Herodotus.

The term cannot have included free men and women who offered their services to the god for life or for a time, such as the Armenian ladies who prostituted themselves in Acilise, or the *θεράπναι* of Apollo (*Hom. Hym. Apoll. Del.* 157). Even such a case as that of Ion in Euripides' drama seems to be excluded; for, though a foundling, he can say *ἱερὸν τὸ σῶμα τῷ θεῷ δίδωμ' ἔχειν*, *i.e.*, his service was voluntary like that of all whom he calls *Φοῖβον θέραπες* (Eur. *Ion*, 1284, 109). More clearly akin, probably, to the Eastern *hierodouloi* were certain cultivators of sacred lands in Sicily and Italy, the Venerei of Eryx and the Martiales of Larinum (Cic. *Verr.* ii. 3. 20, § 50, ii. 5. 54, § 141, *pro Cluentio*, xv. § 43).

It is true that such a class as the *ιερόδουλοι* was not likely to secure frequent mention in ancient authors or inscriptions; but it is impossible not to attach weight to the fact that only in a very few localities do we actually hear of *ιερόδουλοι*, and even in these not till a period at which Asiatic cults had become known and introduced to Greece. We prefer, therefore, to regard them as a peculiar class of servile ministrants not identical with the usual temple slaves of Greece or Italy. Their condition and their name seem alike usually to have been eschewed on Greek soil; and we must infer that the nature of their servility, both as cultivators and as prostitutes, was such as was less congenial to the West than to the East.¹

If we are right, then there is no further question of the manumission of slaves by sale, real or fictitious, to a god being a preliminary to the state of *ιεροδουλεία*, although it may very well have led to their becoming in many cases ordinary temple servitors, or even *ιεροί*.² That a slave could be dedicated to actual service in a temple is proved by a curious inscription of Lebadea,³ wherein a son, acting under his father's will, manumits a slave by dedicating him to Zeus Basileus and Trophonius, stating that his duty will be *λειτωργίην ἐν τῇς θεότης τῶν θιῶν*, but only after he shall have rendered ten years' more service to the family which freed him. Such a condition, however, was undoubtedly not the rule. In the vast majority of cases the slave had no further obligations after being thus manumitted—*e.g.* at Delphi, where the god's payment really came out of the slave's own pocket. Probably local usage varied. Some temples had need of a large number of slave attendants, cultivators or prostitutes, and were prepared to support them; others had not the same needs, or were poorer. In any case, as it happens, we are unable to say that this custom of sacred manumission and the institution of *ιεροδουλεία*, expressly so called, co-existed at any one shrine.

LITERATURE.—This is given in the article.

D. G. HOGARTH.

HIERODOULOI (Semitic and Egyptian).—The term, which signifies simply 'sacred servants,' is employed by scholars to designate religious officials whose functions included sexual rites. Such officials can be traced in connexion with several shrines, and probably existed at others, concerning which no testimony has survived. These officials were of both sexes, though, as is natural, evidence for the existence of female *hierodouloi* is much more abundant than for male.

¹ Cf. Ramsay, *Cit. and Bish.* i. 147: 'It is probable that the *hieroi* represent the *hierodouloi*, as the institution was modified by the development of western civilization in Asia Minor.'

² So Hicks, in *Anc. Gr. Inscr. Brit. Mus.*, London, 1874-90, iii.

³ p. 86. Ramsay expresses doubts (*l.c.*). See art. **HIEROI**.

⁴ *Recueil inscr. jur. grecques*, Paris, 1892-1904, 2nd ser., p. 238.

1. **Babylonian.**—Evidence for the existence of female *hierodouloi* at Erech, in Babylonia, in connexion with the worship of the goddess Ishtar, is found in the Gilgamesh epic. The first tablet of the epic contains the story of Eabani, a wild man, who terrified a hunter whom Gilgamesh sent against him. The hunter was directed to take with him a *harintu*, 'a woman who was *herem*,' or consecrated to a deity; this woman, when they approached Eabani, opened wide her garments, exposing her charms, yielded herself to his embraces, and for six days and seven nights gratified his desire, until he was won from his wild life.¹ In the light of the evidence from other shrines, to be presented below, there can be little doubt that this woman who was *herem* was a sacred prostitute belonging to the temple of Ishtar at Erech.²

From the code of Hammurabi, which was set up in Esagili, the temple of Marduk at Babylon, it appears that similar functionaries existed elsewhere, and were given a legal status by the code. The code was meant for Hammurabi's whole realm, and accordingly implies that such women might be connected with any temple of the land. Direct proof of the wide-spread nature of the institution is found in § 182, where 'women of Marduk,' the god of the city of Babylon, are granted greater rights in the inheritance of the property of an intestate father than other women of this class, as well as in the business documents, which mention the consecrated women of various gods.

Several terms are applied by the code to such women. They are called *NIN-AN*, 'woman of a god'; *SAL-zikrum*, 'vowed woman,' or possibly 'man-woman,' if *zikrum* be taken from a different root; *SAL-NU-GIG*, which is defined in the bilingual texts as *qadištu*, 'holy one'; and *SAL-NU-BAR*, which is defined as *zērmašītu*, 'seed-purifying' or 'seed-forgetful' ones. It is probable that these terms referred to different grades of this peculiar priesthood. The term most frequently used in the code is *SAL-zikru*. This class would seem to have been the most numerous. These women were hedged about with certain restrictions, but also had in some respects larger privileges than women in common life. There were special houses for them, in which they ordinarily lived, though they were not compelled to live there. If one did not reside in one of these special houses, she was forbidden, on pain of death, to open a wine-shop (§ 110). They were protected from slander by the same law which guarded the good name of married women (§ 127). A father could leave to such a woman an inheritance by will. In that case her brothers were to work her portion of the estate and pay her the income. Should she become dissatisfied with their management, she might take the property from their hands, and lease it to whomsoever she pleased. Her father's will might give her the power of leaving her property by testament after her death; if it did not, her share, when she died, reverted to her brothers. If she was accorded no portion by her father's will, she was to inherit equally with her brothers, if she was a *SAL-zikru*; if a *qadištu* or a *zērmašītu*, she received one-third of a brother's share (§§ 173, 179, 180, 181, 182). That the two classes last mentioned were temple prostitutes is sufficiently indicated by their names, especially when the use of *qādhēsh* and *qādhēshāh* in Hebrew (cf. e.g. Dt 23¹⁸) is compared. That the *SAL-zikru* were women of the same character appears from the fact that they might have children, and that these children stood in such a peculiarly orphaned condition that they were apparently frequently adopted into regularly constituted families (§§ 187, 192, 193). The 'women

of Marduk,' for whom the code legislates especially, were apparently of the classes *qadištu* and *zērmašītu*, for, like these, they received, when no provision was made for them in a father's will, only one-third of a son's portion. Their advantage over other women of their class was that they could always dispose of their property at death as they chose (§ 182). Probably it was one of these 'women of Marduk,' who, Herodotus (i. 181) tells us, passed the night on the couch in the sanctuary at the summit of the *ziggurat* of the temple. Apparently she was supposed to act as the wife of the god. These votaries of Marduk appear in the contract literature.³ One of them, Lamazatum, married, and it was agreed that her children should be her heirs.⁴ Votaries of Shamash appear with especial frequency in contracts;⁵ votaries of Enmashtu (*NIN-IB*),⁶ sisters of Suziana,⁷ votaries of Zamama,⁸ *qadištu* of Adad,⁹ also are found. The relations of these women to the world, both when married and when unmarried, are to some extent revealed in the contracts. Thus a votary and her husband adopted a son and agreed that, if they had other children, this one should always be regarded as the elder brother.¹⁰ A *zērmašītu*'s marriage is recorded.¹¹ A man and his wife adopted the son of a votary of Shamash;¹² a votary of Shamash gave her daughter in marriage and received five shekels of silver;¹³ a votary of Shamash gave her daughter in marriage to her brother, stipulating that as long as the brother lived he should support his sister;¹⁴ another votary of Shamash gave her property to her grand-daughter, stipulating that the grand-daughter should support her as long as she lived.¹⁵ A woman consecrated her two daughters to Shamash, stipulating that they should support her as long as she lived.¹⁶ A *qadištu* and her sister divided an inheritance.¹⁷ One votary adopted a child;¹⁸ another brought suit for a share in an estate; another, who was the daughter of a king, was prominent in transactions in grain;¹⁹ while no fewer than three consecrated women appear in a lawsuit in which one sued another and the third appeared as a witness.²⁰ Votaries entered, accordingly, into the active affairs of life, much as other people did.

Lyon,¹⁹ like Johns,²⁰ endeavours to support the improbable view that these consecrated women were eunuchs. His arguments are three in number: (1) one who slandered them was punishable in the same way as one who tarnished the name of a married woman; (2) one of them adopted a child; therefore, when it is said that one of these women had a child, probably it was adopted; (3) when one of these women married, the possibility that she might present her husband with a child is not expressed by the word *aladu*, but by *usarši* or *ustabši*. Lyon thinks that this was because votaries generally did not marry till they were advanced in years, so that it could be presumed that they would be barren.

With reference to these arguments the following points should

¹ Cf. *Cuneiform Texts . . . in the British Museum*, London, 1896–1912 (cited below as *CT*), viii. 48, Bu. 91–5–9, 2484; viii. 6, Bu. 88–5–12, 42; and Thureau-Dangin, *Lettres et contrats de l'époque de la première dynastie babylonienne*, Paris, 1912, pp. 147, 157.

² See, e.g., *CT* vi. 42, Bu. 91–5–9, 2470, viii. 2, Bu. 88–5–12, 10, etc.

³ Hilprecht, *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Penn.* (cited below as *BE*), Philadelphia, 1893–1910, vi. 2, 6, 31, 45.

⁴ *BE* vi. 2, 8.

⁵ Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.* 157.

⁶ *Ib.* 146.

⁷ B. Meissner, *Beitr. zur altbab. Privatrecht*, Leipzig, 1893, no. 94.

⁸ *CT* viii. 50, Bu. 88–5–12, 33.

⁹ *BE* vi. 1, 17.

¹⁰ *CT* iv. 39, Bu. 88–5–12, 617.

¹¹ Thureau-Dangin, 90.

¹² *CT* viii. 5, Bu. 88–5–12, 39.

¹³ *Ib.* viii. 39, Bu. 91–5–9, 2183.

¹⁴ *Ib.* vi. 42, Bu. 91–5–9, 2470.

¹⁵ Thureau-Dangin, 146.

¹⁶ Meissner, 24.

¹⁷ Meissner, *op. cit.* 24; *CT* viii. 33, Bu. 91–5–9, 487; Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.* 162.

¹⁸ Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.* 157.

¹⁹ *Studies in the History of Religion presented to Crawford Howell Toy*, p. 351 ff.

²⁰ *AJSL* xix. [1902] 96–107.

¹ See *KE* vi. 127.

² Cf. Barton, *Sem. Or.*, 256 ff.

be noted. (1) The law against tarnishing the good name of a votary no more implies of necessity that she was a perpetual virgin than it implies that a married woman must be. We learn from Herodotus (i. 199) that certain rules had to be observed by women who became temporary *hierodouloi* (see below), and it is altogether probable that intercourse with one of these consecrated women was regarded as innocent only if practised under certain conditions. If such were the case, it is easy to see why the law should protect such a woman from the reputation of being a common prostitute, just as it protected married women. When the nature of the *hierimtu* of Erech, the nature of the *q'dheshah* in Israel, and the testimony of Herodotus are taken into account, together with the fact that unmarried votaries had children, one is compelled to interpret the law in the way suggested. (2) The idea that *all* the children of votaries were either adopted or born in wedlock is mere assumption. It has no support in the texts. (3) Lyon's explanation of the use of the words *usarshi* and *ustabi* may possibly be right; but, even if it is, it does not follow that the consecrated women were virgins until married.

It is sometimes asserted (as by Johns¹) that these women were virgins who, when they married, still maintained their virginity. Johns supports his view by a reference to a text of the time of Hammurabi published in *CT* ii. 33, which, as he interprets it, states that a certain woman purified her daughter and then married her to another man, at the same time vowing her to perpetual virginity. In reality there is no reference to perpetual virginity in the text; it simply repeats the statement that the daughter was pure.² What this process of purification was we can only conjecture. It is clearly to be connected with the purification of a maiden before her adoption, to which another text refers,³ which has been thought to be connected with circumcision (see *CIRCUMCISION* [Semitic], in vol. iii. p. 679c). It clearly has no bearing on the marriage of female *hierodouloi*.

Two passages in the code refer to a class of men, called by the Sumerian name *NER-SE-GA*, whose children are classed with those of the *SAL-zikru*. An old syllabary defines *NER-SE-GA* as *manzaz-pani*, 'foremost place,' equivalent, as the name of an official, to 'dignitary' or 'magnate.' A legal document of the Hammurabi period⁴ describes certain men as *NER-SE-GA* of the temple of Marduk. It is clear, therefore, that they were religious officials; and, since the code accords their children the same treatment accorded to children of female *hierodouloi*, it is probable that they were sodomites, though full proof of this is lacking.

Closely connected in principle with the service of these permanent *hierodouloi* was the temporary pre-nuptial service in this capacity required of every Babylonian woman. According to Herodotus (i. 199), once in her life every Babylonian woman had to sit in the temple of the goddess of fertility until some stranger came and threw into her lap a piece of silver, uttering the formula: 'I beseech Mylitta (i.e. the goddess who helps women in travail) to favour thee.' Thereupon the woman lay with the stranger outside the temple precincts. The money thus given was sacred. Having discharged her obligations to the goddess, the woman returned home to a normal life. No disgrace, but rather honour, attached to her for this act. Strabo (xvi. i. 20 [p. 745 f.]), as well as the apocryphal Epistle of Jeremiah (v. 42), bears witness to this custom.

2. **Syrian.**—Among the Syrians of the upper Euphrates the Semitic mother-goddess was worshipped at Hierapolis-Bambyce under the name Attar, and this worship was closely akin to her cult elsewhere.⁵ Probably it is her worship to which the Syrian Father, Ephrem, alludes, when he says that, on the feast of their idol, women prostituted themselves, and virgins forthwith vowed their virginity to prostitution.⁶ These remarks would seem to point to the existence of both permanent and temporary *hierodouloi* at Bambyce.

At Hierapolis in Lebanon, the modern Baalbek,

¹ *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts, and Letters*, Edinburgh, 1904, p. 137.

² Cf. Kohler and Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, Leipzig, 1904-10, iii. no. 26.

³ Published by Ranke, *BE* vi. 1. 28 ff.

⁴ Meissner, p. 100, l. 32.

⁵ See Lucian, *de Syria Dea*, xv.; cf. also art. *ASHTART*.

⁶ Ephrem, *Opera*, 459 C.

custom required every maiden to prostitute herself to a stranger in the temple of Ashtart,¹ as the women of Babylonia were required to do for their goddess. Whether the regular sacred harlots were maintained there we do not know, but Eusebius says that even matrons as well as maids prostituted themselves in the service of the goddess. Perhaps this is not to be taken literally, but may refer to a regular order in which such women grew old. Constantine abolished the practice, destroyed the temple, and built a church in its stead.

3. **Phœnician and Punic.**—In Phœnicia these rites were, no doubt, practised in the worship of the same goddess, wherever her temples existed; for the Hebrews, who regarded Sidon as the chief city of Phœnicia, speak of the goddess as 'the abomination of the Sidonians' (2 K 23¹³). Definite evidence comes to us, however, through Lucian,² of the existence of this worship in a modified form in connexion with the worship of Adonis, or Tammuz, at Byblos (Gabal). At his festival, we are told, all women who were not willing to sacrifice their hair were compelled to prostitute themselves for a day. Only strangers might solicit their charms, and the money received in payment of their shame was dedicated to the goddess. Lucian bears witness to the existence here of the institution of temporary harlotry as a sacred service, but shows that the custom had been modified, so that a modest woman might purchase immunity from this service by sacrificing her hair.

At Paphos in Cyprus, according to the testimony of Herodotus,³ Clement of Alexandria,⁴ Justin,⁵ and Athenæus,⁶ there was a similar practice. Each woman, whether princess or low-born, offered herself in prostitution before marriage. Justin, through a misunderstanding, says that they did it to obtain money for a dowry; but the reason for the custom is clearly religious, like that at Babylon. Whether there were at Paphos women permanently devoted to this type of sacred service, we do not know, but it is probable that at some time there had been. The pre-nuptial sacrifice of virtue, however, may have long outlived the permanent institution of *q'dheshoth*.

At the other end of Cyprus, in connexion with a Semitic temple at Kition, we have evidence of the existence of a class of male prostitutes. A fragmentary inscription (*CIS* i. 86) records the provisions granted for the festival at the beginning of a given month to various classes of temple officials. Although the ends of the lines, where the rewards were enumerated, are broken away, the beginnings, where the officials are mentioned, are preserved. Thus we learn that sustenance was apportioned to builders who repaired the temple of Ashtart, to doorkeepers, men set for the sacred service of this day, slaves, slaughterers, barbers who worked for the sacred service, engravers, the chief scribe, and resident aliens. The last-mentioned class consisted of foreigners, who, in accordance with ancient custom, had taken refuge in a strange land under the protection of the sanctuary.⁷ It is clear from its context that the 'dogs' (𐤁𐤍𐤏𐤍) must refer to a class of people, and equally clear that the word is to be interpreted by Dt 23^{18, 19}, where 'dog' (𐤁𐤍𐤏𐤍) is equated with *q'dhesh*, or 'male prostitute.' If the Semitic settlement here supported male *hierodouloi*, the female were, without doubt, not lacking, though as yet evidence of their presence has not been recovered. At Eryx in Sicily the presence of a Semitic colony and a temple of Ashtart is attested by Phœnician in-

¹ Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 58; Sozomen, *HE* v. 10. 7; Socrates, *HE* i. xviii. 7-9.

² *Op. cit.* vi.

³ xviii. 5. 4.

⁴ *Protrep.* ii.

⁷ Cf. *Rel. Sem.* 2 76 ff., and Ps 54 15¹ 614.

scriptions.¹ Strabo (VI. ii. 5 [p. 272]) testifies that formerly the temple of Aphrodite (Ashtart) was 'full of women *hierodouloi*.' In view of the nature of this class elsewhere, the functions of these *hierodouloi* need not be elucidated.

Among the Semites of North Africa the Semitic mother-goddess was worshipped under the two names of Ashtart and Tanith. Hundreds of votive inscriptions attest the popularity of her cult. The change of sentiment which came over the world with reference to the relation of the sexes in the early centuries of the Christian era led the worshippers of these goddesses to call them 'celestial virgins'; at least, that was the case with Tanith. St. Augustine² testifies that once in his youth he attended her festival, and that 'such foulness of obscene speeches and actions as the players would be ashamed when rehearsing to act at home before their own mothers, they acted publicly in the presence of the mother of the gods, in the sight and hearing of a very great company of both sexes.' He goes on to say that 'chastity was shamelessly outraged.' This language is vague and oratorical, but, in view of evidence from other parts of the Semitic world, it is probable that the devotees of the goddess at the time of her festivals became temporary *hierodouloi*, even though evidence for the existence of permanent *hierodouloi* in North Africa is wanting.

4. Arabian.—Among the pre-Muhammadan Arabs the worship of the mother-goddess was practised; in some places she was called Al-Lāt, in others Al-'Uzzā. Few traces of the worship have survived from the non-literary pre-Muhammadan time, but Patristic references to the worship of Arabian goddesses imply that from the Christian standpoint it was, like that at Bambyce and Carthage, sexually impure,³ and the great Muhammadan festival at Mecca, which was taken over from heathenism, is still marked by sexual irregularities.⁴ We are safe, accordingly, in assuming that in Arabia the worship of the mother-goddess was accompanied by the temporary practice of sacred prostitution. Owing to the unsettled character of nomadic life, it is hardly probable that permanent officials dedicated to this service were maintained.

5. Hebrew.—As *hierodouloi* in some form are traceable in so many parts of the heathen Semitic world, it is probable that it was a primitive Semitic institution, which survived in practically all the Semitic nations. It becomes, then, an interesting question whether these officials had a place in early Hebrew religion. There is some evidence to show that they had. We are told (1 K 14²⁴) that the 'sodomite' (*qādēsh*) was in the land, and that in this respect Hebrew ritual did not differ from that of other nations. Again (1 K 15¹²), we read that King Asa drove the sodomites (*qādēshīm*) out of the land. This reform must, however, have been but temporary, for Hosea (4¹⁴) declares that the women and brides of Israel not only commit harlotry (*i.e.* become temporary *hierodouloi*), but that the guides of the nations themselves, her rulers and priests, offer their sacrifices with sacred prostitutes (*qādēshōth*). The author of Deuteronomy, in the next century, bears witness to the existence of both male and female *hierodouloi* in his land, for he prohibits them for the future (Dt 23¹⁷). As legislators in modern times do not find it necessary to prohibit the sale of intoxicating drinks where such drinks are unknown, this law on the pages of Deuteronomy is evidence of the presence in Judah of the

institution legislated against. Further testimony to the same effect is found in 2 K 23⁷, where it appears that, in carrying out the reform, which he based on Deuteronomy, King Josiah found it necessary to destroy the houses of the sodomites (*qādēshīm*) in the very temple of Jahweh. It is clear from the context here that *qādēshīm*, though a masculine plural, refers to sacred prostitutes of both sexes, for the last clause of the verse describes these houses as 'where the women wore hangings for Asherah.' It seems, accordingly, that down to the time of Josiah *hierodouloi* of both sexes had been attached to the temple of Jahweh, and that the prophetic teaching had not sufficiently awakened the public conscience to dislodge them.

Two explanations of the presence of these ministers in Israel have been offered. The Hebrew prophets believed that they were no part of the ritual of Jahweh, but that they were an importation from other Semitic religions. Some modern scholars believe that the religion of Jahweh had its roots in the soil of primitive Semitic ritual, and that *hierodouloi* were one of the features which Jahweh's religion, like other Semitic religions, inherited from the parent stock. Whatever the origin of the institution, it is certain that, aided by the Deuteronomic law, the prophets imposed their view upon Judah, and finally uprooted this debasing type of religious service, banishing it from their land. How debasing it had become, and what frank appeals it made to those sensual passions which men have more need to control than to inflame, the excavations at Gezer make it possible for us to realize as never before. Such art as they possessed was employed to extend the appeal by which these sacred courtesans in the service of deity enticed men to indulgence.¹ That the prophets succeeded in removing from Judah's religion an institution consecrated by religious sanction and hoary with age, which appealed so powerfully to the animal element in man, is eloquent testimony to the fact that they were working with God and for Him.

6. Egyptian.—Among the Egyptians the institution of *hierodouloi* can be most clearly traced at Thebes. Strabo (XVII. i. 46 [p. 816]) declares that here 'a very beautiful virgin of most distinguished lineage was consecrated to Zeus (Amon), and that she played the concubine and had intercourse with whomsoever she desired until the natural purification of her body was accomplished (*i.e.* until the expiration of a month); then, after her purification, she was given to a husband.' This points to the existence of an institution kindred to that which we have traced among the Semites. That this practice was not confined to one woman, but was one manifestation of a more general institution, is indicated by an inscription of Ramses III., in which he tells of the disposition of the booty taken in his Syrian war. In speaking of the captives he says: 'I have carried them away: the males to fill thy storehouse; their women, to be subjects of thy temple.'² Breasted is undoubtedly right in thinking that these women became *hierodouloi*.³ This is confirmed by scenes pictured on the wall of the temple erected by Ramses III. at Medinet Habu, which one must see in order to appreciate. They are usually spoken of as 'harim scenes,'⁴ but their occurrence in a temple would seem to indicate that it was no ordinary harim. On the great festival days the priestesses of Hathor and other deities danced before the god (or goddess) just as the women of the harim were accustomed

¹ Cf. R. A. S. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, London, 1912, vol. iii. plates ccxx, ccxxi.

² Cf. J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Chicago, 1906, iv. 128.

³ *Ib.* v. 132^a.

⁴ So Baedeker's *Egypt*, ed. 1902, p. 298.

¹ CIS i. 135-140.

² *de Civ. Dei*, li. 4.

³ Ephrem, *Opera*, 457 E, 458 I, 459 G; Epiph. *Panarion*, li.; Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis*, xxv.; and Isaac of Antioch, ed. Bickell, Giessen, 1873-77, p. 244, l. 449 ff.

⁴ Cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mecca*, Hague, 1888-89, ii. 59-61.

to do for the entertainment of their earthly lord,¹ and it can hardly be that the dances were chaste.

At Thebes the wife of the high priest bore the title 'chief concubine,' while a queen or princess was called 'wife of the god.'² This recalls the statement of Herodotus (i. 182), that a bed on which a wife of the god slept for his enjoyment was placed in the inner sanctuary at Thebes for Amon, as in the sanctuary at the top of the *ziggurat* of the temple of Bel at Babylon. That it might be claimed that this relationship on the part of the wife of the god to him was no mere fiction is shown by the account which the famous queen, Hatshepsut, of the XVIIIth dynasty, gives of her parentage. She claims that the god Amon came and actually had intercourse with her mother.³ When it was thought that a god could thus treat women—and women, too, who had earthly husbands—it is probable that, under religious regulation, provision was made for similar conduct on the part of his worshippers. Osorkon II., of the XXIInd dynasty, declares that he had assumed 'the protection of the sacred women of the house of Amon and the protection of all the women of the city, who have been maid-servants since the time of the fathers.'⁴ The sacred women of the house of Amon are classed by him with the maid-servants throughout the city as having no natural protectors. They were probably of the class under consideration. The existence of *hierodouloi* in connexion with other Egyptian deities is not so clear. The god Min, of Coptos, is pictured with phallus erect, and it would seem probable that some such institution attached to his cult. Ramses III. says that he made decrees for the administration of the 'pure' settlement of women of the god Ptah of Memphis.⁵ 'Pure' is here used in a ceremonial sense; they were women consecrated to the god, whose functions were probably similar to the functions of the women of Amon. Perhaps it was a garbled report of the functions of such consecrated women, among whom were princesses, that reached Herodotus, and led him to say (ii. 126) that Khufu (Cheops), in order to obtain money for his pyramid, prostituted his own daughter. If there is any truth behind the story, it is probable that the princess was a priestess of Ptah and acted as a *hierodoulos*. That the Egypt of the Old Kingdom was not unacquainted with the circle of ideas which we have traced at Thebes is shown by the fact that one of the Pyramid Texts describes the king as 'the man who takes women from their husbands whither he wills and when his heart desires.'⁶ In the Old Kingdom the king was a god, and his actions were divine. Probably other gods, through such practices as we have traced, were thought to do the same.

The goddesses Hathor and Bastet were mother-goddesses, and were pictured nude, as were the Semitic goddesses of the same type.⁷ Hathor was praised in a chorus of dancing women.⁸ That women became temporary *hierodouloi* at the festival of Bastet at Bubastis is implied by Herodotus (ii. 60), who says that men and women went in large numbers together in boats to this feast at Bubastis, playing and singing the whole way. At towns they would disembark, sing, dance, and taunt the women of the town, some of the visitors pulling up their clothes. In the light of the goddesses' character, the nature of the services of these women is not difficult to divine.

A similar service seems to have attached to the worship of the god of Mendes, whom Herodotus

identifies with the Greek god Dionysus. He tells us (ii. 48) that at his festival women carried about in procession images of the god with the member nodding, and that the member was about as large as the image. The women were singing the praises of the god. It seems clear that these women were playing the part of temporary *hierodouloi*, though they may have been in part permanently dedicated to that vocation. The institution seems to have been as wide-spread in Egypt as among the Semites, though its details cannot be so clearly traced.

The ideas which called into existence this institution, so revolting to modern feeling, can now be only conjectured. It seems most likely that it originated in a polyandrous society, and in that circle of ideas, traceable in many parts of the world, in which originated the custom of giving a bride the first night to a king or priest in order to secure the blessing of fertility. Priesthood and kingship in their later senses were unknown among the primitive Semitic and Hamitic tribes, and hence, probably, it was thought to secure the divine blessing by leaving the first and consecrating act to divine chance.

The temporary *hierodouloi* were a survival of this custom. The more permanent and professional *hierodouloi* were a later development, and grew out of the conception that intercourse with a supernatural being produced fertility and a remarkable offspring (cf. Gn 30² 6³⁻⁴). The consecrated *hierodouloi* were the representatives of deity, to give concrete expression to this idea. Fertility was thought to come to women through intercourse with these sacred males, and virile power to men through commerce with the consecrated women.

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GEORGE A. BARTON.

HIEROI (*iepoi*, *iepal*).—This word, as noun substantive, is found only in inscriptions, and, with very few exceptions, only in inscriptions of Western Asia Minor. Although much light has been thrown on *iepoi* by recent explorations in Anatolia, much remains obscure concerning them (cf. Ramsay, *Cit. and Bish. of Phrygia*, i., Oxford, 1895, pp. 135, 147). On the mainland of Greece only two inscriptions have been found which mention *iepoi*—the great Mystery Rule of Andania in Messenia, which is headed *Ἐπεὶ Ἱερῶν καὶ Ἱερῶν* (Dittenberger, *Syll.*², Leipzig, 1898, no. 653), and another Messenian text discovered at Calamata (*CIG* 1487). In the first text certainly, and the second probably, the word is simply equivalent to *μυστήριον*, and means 'initiated.' Whether that is its sense also in inscriptions of Tenos and Delos (*CIG* 2339b, 2953b) is unknown. The word is not otherwise used in Greece of initiated persons; its Messenian use may safely be put down as local and singular.

In Asia Minor the name certainly does not mean the initiated, but temple ministrants. It seems clear that all *iepoi* did not come to be so in the same way, nor had they the same tenure and conditions of service. (1) At certain shrines free

¹ Erman, *Ägypt. Rel.*², p. 61 ff.

² *ib.* 87.

³ *ib.* iv. § 751.

⁴ Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1912, p. 177.

⁵ Erman, 200, 239.

⁶ Breasted, *ib.* §§ 196, 197.

⁷ *ib.* i. § 321.

⁸ *ib.* 61 ff.